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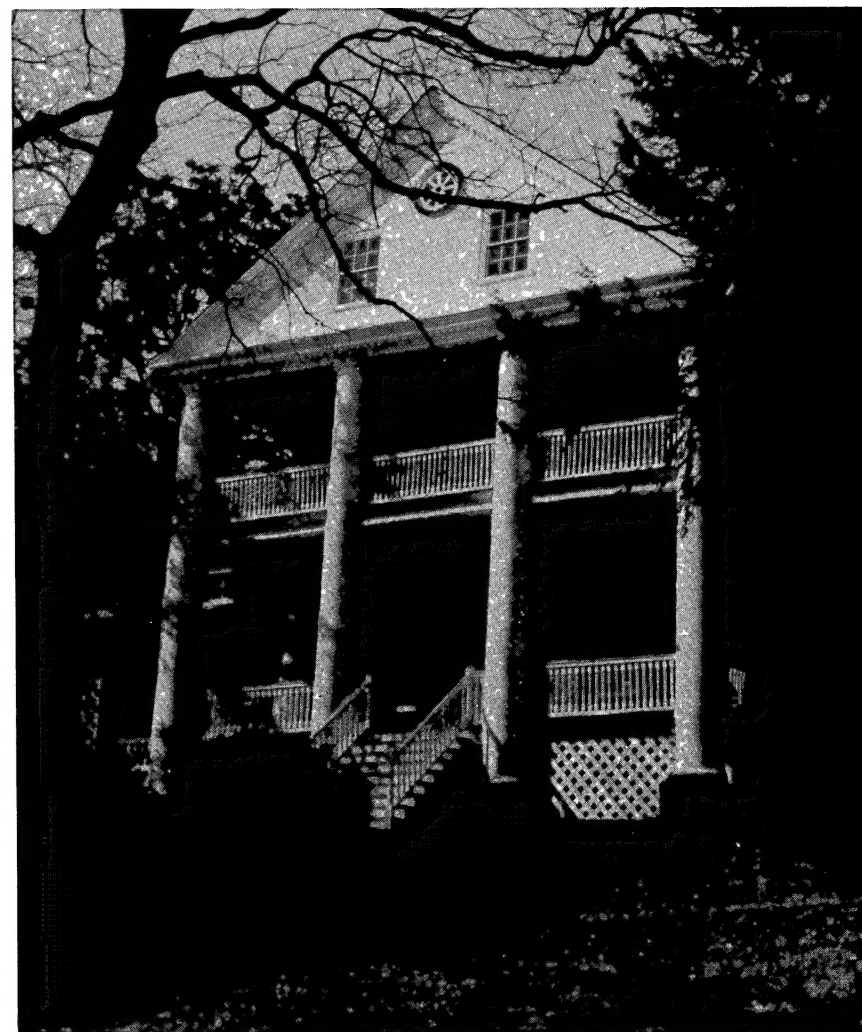
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THE HEADACHES OF A WHIG CONGRESSMAN

by Dr. James B. Patrick
Mary Baldwin College

The historic Stuart house in Staunton is a well known and beloved landmark in that city. Built in 1791 by Archibald Stuart, the house (Fig. 1) is of great interest architecturally, but perhaps it is even more interesting because of the people who have lived in it. Archibald Stuart was Thomas Jefferson's law clerk and later friend and confidante. As a young man he had fought in the Revolution under his father's command. He was a close friend of numerous other eminent Virginians of the time, including John Marshall. This fact emphasizes the urbane friendliness and lack of partisanship for which Stuart was noted, since his old mentor Jefferson detested Marshall. Stuart was an active member of the Virginia Convention that ratified the U.S. constitution, part of the Valley bloc that swung the passage of that hotly contested resolution. He was an elector in nine Federal elections, casting his ballot for Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Crawford, and Adams. He was a judge of the General Court from 1800 until 1831 when, at the age of 73, he declined reelection.

His youngest son, Alexander H. H. Stuart, was similarly distinguished. He served in the Virginia legislature for one term in 1838-40 and then was Congressman from 1840-42. He was Secretary of the Interior from 1850 to 1853, the second person to hold that newly-created office. In 1860 he was chairman of the committee selected by the Governor to investigate and report on the John Brown raid. His selection for this post reflected the reputation which he had acquired for moderation, fairness, and good sense. Later Stuart was a member of the State Convention of 1861, where he firmly opposed secession. Like Lee and many other distinguished Virginians, Stuart held that states did have the right to withdraw from the Union, but that it would be the height of folly for his state to do so. The last major effort made by the Convention to compose the differences that were fast leading to war was the dispatch of a committee of three to meet with President Lincoln; Stuart was one of the members. Stuart was not impressed by the reception that the President gave the com-



(Courtesy of Augusta Garden Club)

Figure 1

mittee — he regarded Lincoln's answer "while courteous in form, as almost hostile in intent." — but he continued to oppose secession, even in the final vote after Lincoln's fateful call for troops to coerce the seceded states. However, again like Lee, once the Commonwealth had withdrawn from the Union, he felt that his loyalty lay with Virginia. Immediately after Appomattox Stuart initiated energetic measures to restore the status of Virginia in

the Union. As a result the state was spared some of the excesses of the Reconstruction period. He was also active in the administration of the Peabody Education Fund for the restoration and strengthening of education in the devastated states of the former Confederacy. During this entire active career Stuart carried on a busy law practice. He died in 1891 at the age of 84.

Since that time the house has stayed in the same family, and each generation has produced men who were respected lawyers or influential in Virginia politics. In 1974 the house was inherited by George Cochran, a justice of the Virginia Supreme Court and a direct descendant of the Stuarts. In preparing to occupy the house he and his wife planned a number of repairs and modifications, in the course of which it was necessary to clean out the large attic. The attic had been gone over several times in past years and it was generally believed that nothing of particular value remained in it. Numerous papers of both Archibald and Alexander H. H. Stuart are in the Library of Congress, the Alderman Library, and the Virginia Historical Society and no one suspected that there were any more to be found.

By a stroke of singular good fortune, the attic cleaning was hardly under way when an old and battered trunk containing moth-eaten and grease-stained curtains of indeterminate age — a prime candidate for the trash pile — was found to contain, under the cloth, some law books with Archibald Stuart's name in them. Further investigation showed that these had been given to Stuart by Thomas Jefferson. Operations in the attic were continued with considerable caution and almost immediately turned up, in a basket which contained mostly old checks and other household papers from the 1930's, the commission issued to Archibald Stuart to serve as one of the two Virginia commissioners to meet with two commissioners from Kentucky to settle the boundary of the proposed new state!

With that discovery it became obvious that the proposed attic cleaning had turned into a full-fledged problem for document hunting and historical research. Accordingly, the rest of the summer of 1974 was devoted to sifting the rather extensive contents of the attic, paper by paper.

The results amply justified the effort. Over seven hundred documents of primary historical importance were uncovered. About 80 of these are letters and other papers of Archibald Stuart, including some fascinating and important correspondence from the time of Washington's first administration. Most of the remaining documents are letters received by Alexander H. H.

Stuart, including almost half of the private letters he received during his tenure as Secretary of the Interior.

Approximately 30 of the letters pertain to the period 1840-42 when Stuart went to Washington as a Congressman during the Tyler Administration. They give an interesting, informative, and at times amusing picture of what it was like to be a public servant at that period of the Republic. Stuart himself (Fig. 2) was still a fairly young man, handsome, popular, and recently married. His stay in the capital was a busy one, but it is revealing to find that he declined reelection to another term on



Figure 2

the plea that he could not afford to neglect his law practice any longer for only \$8.00 per day! Whatever else may have been said about the nation's lawmakers, they were not overpaid at that time.

The Congress to which Stuart was elected was to convene in an "extra session" on May 31, 1841. President William Henry

Harrison had felt that pressing matters facing his new administration warranted a special session of Congress; his death on April 4 did not alter the call for the legislative session.

To reach Washington, Stuart had to go from Staunton to Richmond by stagecoach or other horse transportation. From Richmond to Washington was by railroad. The contrast between the two halves of the trip is sharply illustrated by a letter written some time later from Stuart to his wife. In it he announces his intention to leave Washington on Saturday morning and to be in Staunton the following Thursday at the latest. He expected to be in Richmond Saturday night — the train trip was a matter of hours — but, even assuming that he would not travel on Sunday, Staunton was evidently a three-day haul from Richmond. We know from other sources that the trip was no picnic. In rainy weather the roads turned into ribbons of mud. Travelers frequently had to get out and walk when the straining horses could not drag the heavy vehicles up the steep slopes of Afton Mountain, and if the going was muddy at that point the traveler sometimes had to put a shoulder to the muddy coach in the pouring rain to help make the passage. No wonder that Stuart added, in the letter to his wife, "I wish you could be with us [in Richmond] provided we had a rail-road to Staunton to save you the horrible journey which I anticipate home."

That particular letter also sheds some interesting light on the life of a Congressman's family in the 1840's. "I have thought repeatedly of your troubles with your pork etc. I presume at the very moment I write this you are preparing some sausages for supper and are congratulating yourself that the lard has been set away to cool." Obviously hog butchering time was no respecter of persons. Stuart was a farmer and his wife was a farmer's wife. America was a farming country and an overwhelming majority of Americans lived on the land.

An amusing slant on the American farmer is given by a letter from a Charlottesville farmer to Stuart. Dated May 17, 1841, it is an acknowledgement of a seed order from Stuart, but immediately after the business part and an assurance that Stuart will get seed of the Potato Pumpkin, his bucolic correspondent launches into political comment and advice. The farmers of the day were no hayseeds; they were the backbone of the electorate and evidently followed public affairs with care. Stuart's correspondent has some shrewd comments on the question of the National Bank, and he also has some helpful hints for his Congressman which reflect the political styles of the period: "Keep dark

for some time; take Rives in this for your model. He never makes a speech until near the end of a Session, gathers all he can from the papers & those who have gone before, revises, blots out, & at last comes with a finished Oration, divided usually into five parts according to the old Roman plan."

The references to the National Bank reflect a burning issue of the time; five other letters in the collection from this period also address that question. At the time the States were printing what amounted to their own currency, there was no national paper currency, and the national economy was in a severe slump.

The 27th Congress to which Stuart had been elected was known as the Whig Congress. It met in "extra session" from May 31 to September 13, 1841, and then had its regular session from December of that year to August 30, 1842. It was a Congress of bitter disputes over three subjects: the National Bank, the 21st Rule, and President Tyler himself. Tyler's position was remarkable by modern standards. The Whig party had won the White House in an electoral campaign that was strikingly modern in many respects. Much of the hoopla that we are accustomed to associate with election campaigns originated in the campaign of 1840. Rallies and parades, catchy campaign slogans and faked-up biographies of the candidates all played a bigger part than they had previously. William Henry Harrison, a scion of the aristocratic Harrisons of Berkeley Plantation, was represented as having been born in a log cabin and as an inveterate guzzler of the common man's homemade apple jack. The slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" is perhaps the most durable one in American history; most Americans have heard it one hundred and thirty-six years later.

But in other ways the Whig campaign was almost unbelievably unmodern. They obviously had not the slightest concept of the "balanced ticket." Not only were both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates from Virginia; they even came from the same county!

Another point at which the Whigs failed to anticipate the ways of the future proved to be far more serious. Until 1840 no vice-president had ever succeeded to the White House, and all parties, Whigs included, seem to have forgotten that possibility. When Harrison died, there was some initial doubt as to whether Tyler was really the President or perhaps rather the "Vice-President serving as President." Tyler settled the question quickly enough by assuming the full authority of the Presidency, setting a precedent that is now so firmly settled that modern

Americans can hardly conceive of its being done any other way. But in another respect Tyler's ascendancy caused pandemonium. In their zeal to run a candidate with Harrison who would be widely respected and a good vote-getter, the Whigs had overlooked the question of whether Tyler was really in agreement with the main planks in the Whig platform. He was not.

One of the major Whig objectives was the laudable one of establishing a National Bank to regulate the currency and bring some order into the floundering economy. But Tyler was a strict constructionist who did not believe that the National Bank, however necessary, could be set up under the provisions of the Constitution. Hence, when his own party, after bitter battles in the House and Senate, succeeded in passing the National Bank Bill, he vetoed it.

The fury of the Whigs at this unexpected disaster was terrible. A number of letters to Stuart from his Whig constituents are filled with denunciations of the President. Language on the floor of the Senate became so violent that Senator Benton suggested that the dignity of the Senate required some moderation. The suggestion was treated as an assault on a basic civil right. S. McD. Moore of Rockbridge County wrote wrathfully to Stuart "Every man has the right to Damn the President as much as he pleases, any when and any where . . ."

After the veto of the first Bank Bill, a delegation of cooler-headed leaders of the Whigs visited Tyler to see if the difficulty could be patched up. It is interesting that Stuart was among them; he had made his mark in Congress in a very short time. After considerable discussion, Stuart suggested various alterations that might get around Tyler's constitutional objections. Tyler was persuaded, so much so that he put his arm around Stuart and, raising his other hand, said, "Stuart, if you can get me such a bill I shall consider you my dearest friend."

After much backroom maneuvering the Whig leaders got the bill put together. It avoided all reference to a bank and instead set up a "Fiscal Agency," and various other devices were resorted to in an effort to meet Tyler's objections. The bill passed both houses, but in the meantime Tyler had had second thoughts. When it arrived on his desk, he vetoed it!

The wrath of the twice-betrayed Whigs was indescribable. For the first and last time in American history the entire Cabinet resigned. (Actually Daniel Webster stayed on as Secretary of State, but only because he was involved in some delicate negotiations; as soon as he had his treaty he also resigned.)

The vicissitudes of the Whigs with Tyler and their efforts to establish the National Bank would have sufficed to make the 27th Congress an embattled one, but the 21st Rule had already started the battle.

At the termination of his Presidency John Quincy Adams had accepted the election of his neighbors in Massachusetts to be their representative in Congress, and the ex-President spent the rest of his life in the House, finally dying at his desk there. Stuart met the old man when he arrived in Congress and confided to his wife that he was not much impressed. But Adams could stir the House to violence. His constituents in Massachusetts had taken to sending in numerous petitions asking Congress to abolish slavery, and Adams had faithfully read each petition to the House. In 1837 the angry pro-slavery delegates from the South had managed to muster enough votes to add to the Rules of Procedure of the House a 21st Rule that provided that all such petitions would be automatically laid on the table without reading, thus effectually burying the offending missives.

When the 27th Congress convened, one of the first orders of business was an attempt to repeal the 21st Rule, so the Congress opened with a brisk battle. Interestingly enough, Stuart, although he was not anti-slavery and, in fact, owned a few slaves himself, spoke in favor of repeal of the Rule. His reason was the eminently sensible one that the Constitution gave the people the right to petition for redress of grievances and that the Rule, for all practical purposes, abrogated that Constitutional right. Several letters found in the collection indicate that in this he accurately represented the feelings of many of the citizens of his district.

Nevertheless, the effort failed and the Rule remained on the books until the next Congress removed it.

There are numerous evidences in the collection of papers that bear witness to the growing bitterness of the controversy over slavery. One of the most jolting reminders that slavery was a reality, is a slave dealer's business card (Fig. 3) that was found in the attic with the other papers. Even more curious from the historian's point of view is an anonymous poison-pen letter from an Abolitionist, sent to Stuart only three weeks after he arrived in Washington. The letter has a regular printed letterhead, but the only signature is "A Detestar of Slavery."

The anonymous writer starts off relatively mildly "Were a convention to be held of wicked men and Devils to devise a character for a being which would be deserving the burning contempt of every good and honest man and truly odious in the sight

E. H. STOKES,
AUCTIONEER
For the Sale of Negroes,
ON FRANKLIN STREET,
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

Will Board Gentlemen engaged in the Trade,
AND THEIR SERVANTS.

Figure 3

of a holy and just God, should they ransack the pages of history holy and profane or set their imagination to work for a complete original, they could not produce one more worthy of genuine detestation than that of a *Slave Holder*, for in their character is a consummation of every thing abominable." Having thus launched himself the author proceeds to three and a half pages of denunciation in language that grows steadily more violent.

The unidentified firebrand gives a little information about himself. He specifically disavows any tender feeling for Southerners, stating that he does not want to see slavery pass away peaceably; he wants a revolution and he wants to take part in it. Probably he got his wish. Another of his statements raises other interesting questions. He says, "Phrenologists tell me that I shall make a noise in the world yet, and I hope God has raised me up like Moses of old . . . etc . . ." The reference to phrenology recalls an odd and now largely forgotten episode in the history of science. At the end of the eighteenth century the belief, based largely on the writings of Lavater and Gall in Europe, was widely held that the shape of the human brain reflected the relative degree of development of an individual's various faculties and that the brain in turn influenced the shape of the skull as it developed. Consequently, it was claimed, careful study of the subtle bumps and contours of the head could enable the trained expert to analyze the intellectual characteristics and mental abilities of patients they examined. The idea is not really implausi-

ble. A great deal of elaborate discussion and study went into the development of phrenology and numerous intellectuals were convinced that it was the major science of the future. Franklin and Jefferson listened sympathetically to its claims.

Now, of course, phrenology is recognized as one of those fossil sciences, like mesmerism, that proved to be a blind alley. It was a pleasant surprise to find that the Stuart House attic not only had the Abolitionist's letter claiming the authority of phrenology for some of his visions of doom, but that there was also a copy, in excellent condition, of the 1822 first edition of Combe's *Essays on Phrenology*, the authoritative text for believers in that system, complete with diagrams of the head and skull, lengthy discussions of the principles of the system, and procedures for the do-it-yourself application of the science.

With the defeat of the 21st Rule, John Adams' constituents tried another tack. Adams introduced in the House a petition from Haverhill, Mass. requesting the Congress to dissolve the Union. Once more the house was in an uproar. Thomas W. Gilmer, a former governor of Virginia, introduced a motion to censure Adams for bringing such a paper into the House. The resulting Donnybrook, which went on for days with each side exhausting the resources of antebellum oratory, is remarkable for the picture it presents of New Englanders openly and energetically trying to break up the Union while representatives of the Deep South attacked the whole idea as outrageous and treasonable. Within only twenty years the shoes would be on the other feet.

Ultimately the motion to censure Adams failed. Stuart, who had not hesitated to play a prominent part in the debates on the Bank and the 21st Rule, took no part in the censure debate. Probably his never-failing good sense was repelled by the whole business.

Thomas Gilmer, who had brought the censure motion, was a friend of Stuart's and, from references in a few of the letters, it seems possible that they may have boarded together for a while when Stuart was first in Washington. An interesting memento of the boarding house, whether or not Gilmer shared it, is a set of recipes that Stuart collected and brought home for his wife, labeled "Kitty Bowie, Washington cook." The recipes are for Mock Turtle, Croquets, and clear soup. The mock turtle recipe begins "Put on calf's head, knuckle of veal, fowls — if you need them for dinner — and a small piece of lean of ham. . ."



I, WILLIAM THOMAS CARROLL, Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, Do hereby Certify, That Alexander H. H. Stuart Esquire _____ of the State of Virginia _____ was duly admitted and qualified, as an Attorney and Counsellor of the said Supreme Court of the United States, on the 18th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty two — and of the Independence of the United States of America, the Sixty Sixth. —

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Seal of the said Supreme Court, at the City of Washington, this Nineteenth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty two. —

Wm. T. Carroll
Clerk. Sup. Ct. U. S.

Figure 4

But Gilmer, unlike almost all of the other Whigs, sided with President Tyler in the great party battles. For that he is violently attacked in several of the letters to Stuart. Nicholas Kinney, a frequent correspondent, says, "My friend Gilmer . . . has forfeited the confidence of many of his personal friends. My information from his district is that nine-tenths of his personal and political friends would not touch him again with a ten foot pole (the words of one of them)."

In spite of all the goings-on in Congress, Stuart found time to do some useful things on the side. In January, 1842 Stuart obtained his certificate to practice before the Supreme Court, and the certificate survived among his papers in the attic. (Fig. 4)

He also seems to have served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and may even have been its chairman for a time, since there is a letter from the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, transmitting some State Department correspondence to him for the Committee.

A second letter from Webster shows that Stuart had not been so immersed in major national issues as to forget his obligations to his particular district. The letter is a reply to a query from Stuart concerning census data (at that time kept in the State Department) which might contain useful information concerning the blind. Only a few years earlier the Legislature had established the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind in Staunton. From that time to the end of his life Stuart was always concerned with the School in one way or another, and here he was using his position as Congressman to see whether he could advance its interests.

At last the contentious 27th Congress was over and Stuart came home in September 1842. He had missed his home greatly and he did not seek another term. But he had made numerous friends in Washington and the letters show that these kept him thoroughly posted on what was going on.

The next Congress was controlled by the Democrats, and it did not present an edifying spectacle to a Whig. Garratt Davis, a Representative from Kentucky and one of Stuart's closest friends wrote, "Here we are again . . . I never did derive much pleasure from a seat in Congress but the thing is now flat indeed. About two thirds of the House are new men and as far as I can judge . . . very inferior men. And then . . . there were so many hungry ravening importuning seekers for all the offices and places connected with the House — some half dozen applicants for each

one. They hovered about the avenues and the Hall of the House like unclean birds . . .”

But if most of the tidings were unedifying, the news in February, 1844 brought stark tragedy. At that time the United States, by a bold stroke of genuine genius, had made a strong bid to be the foremost naval power in the world. All of the major navies already used steam vessels, but only as dispatch carriers and service vessels because they all had paddle wheels and it was rightly considered that the big, fragile paddle wheel was totally unsuited to a fighting ship. Armored paddle boxes were considered impractical; without armor the ship could be disabled by one shot. The solution to this dilemma was provided by Captain Stockton of the U.S. Navy who designed the steam frigate Princeton, driven by a screw propellor. Not only did this solution give a steam war vessel with the propellor shielded by being under water, but Stockton placed the boilers and all the machinery of the Princeton below the waterline so that it was also largely protected from enemy fire. Those improvements alone would have made the Princeton the most advanced warship afloat, but Stockton had not stopped there.

Until the 1840's the art of casting metals was such that the large guns of warships had to be made of bronze. To stand the enormous pressures developed during firing, a gun had to be cast free of flaws and that meant, in practice, that the metal used had to be very free-flowing when molten. Bronze meets this requirement (which is why it is also used so frequently for statuary) but iron does not; because molten iron is viscous and syrupy it is very hard to form into flawless castings of any great size. The situation was unsatisfactory because bronze is not a very strong metal and the gun pressures in a bronze gun are limited, requiring that the muzzle velocity, range, and penetration of projectiles from bronze guns also be limited. Iron, on the other hand, can withstand enormous pressures, if the casting is not flawed.

It was Stockton's belief that the technology of casting iron had now reached a point where an iron gun of large caliber was finally practical. Accordingly, in addition to conventional armament the Princeton mounted an enormous iron gun, the "Peace-maker," that threw a heavier projectile for a greater range than any other piece of naval ordnance in existence. The result was that the Princeton was capable of outrunning, overtaking, or outranging any other warship in the world's navies.

In February, 1844 a gala party was held to show off this pride of our navy to official Washington. With Captain Stockton

in command the Princeton sailed down the Potomac with the President and his fiancée, the members of the cabinet, and numerous senators and congressmen and their wives on board. The various features of the ship were explained and demonstrated, salutes were fired as they passed Mount Vernon, the Marine Band played and, as the ship turned to return to Washington, a lavish dinner was served below decks. As the Princeton approached Fort Washington it was announced that a final salute was to be fired from the Peacemaker. The women seem to have preferred to remain at dinner, but a number of the men were on hand to watch as the great gun was fired for the last time that day. But when the salute was fired the gun burst. The Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy were both killed instantly, along with a Naval officer and two other civilians, and several others were injured. The Secretary of the Navy was Stuart's old acquaintance, Thomas Gilmer, who had been rewarded with that post for his support of the President.

Among the papers found in the Stuart House attic is a letter to Stuart from G. W. Summers, another Virginia Congressman, written on that awful night of February 28, 1844, relating the entire dreadful episode. From the letter it is impossible to tell whether Summers had been aboard the Princeton, but the events of the evening had obviously been a severe shock to him. He begins "I am scarcely in condition to write you this evening. We are overwhelmed with the awful occurrence of this afternoon — Gilmer, Upshur and some half dozen others have been suddenly launched into eternity by the bursting of a gun on board the steam frigate Princeton! A large party, including the President, the heads of departments, some members of Congress and ladies and gentlemen of this city made an excursion upon invitation from Capt Stockton, down the Potomack today — On her return and when about Fort Washington, the large gun called the "Peace maker" was fired with a charge of about thirty pounds of powder — her ordinary charge is 45 lb — The gun burst, instantly killing our friend Gov. Gilmer, who was very near the gun, Judge Upshur, Commodore Kennon, Virgil Maxcy, Col. Gardner of New York, and several sailors and others whose names we have not ascertained — Gilmer breathed for a few moments only — Upshur was killed instantly — Kennon was torn to pieces literally [sic] — Mrs. Gilmer was on board, but with the other ladies was below at the time — Her situation and feelings may be imagined but not described — Col. Benton is much injured by the concussion — he was not struck — Capt Stockton who

was near, is burned and injured badly, whether mortally hurt, is not known. You can conceive the gloom that this sad affair has thrown over the city, as it will over the country at large, when known — Such a catastrophe has scarce ever happened — Many more members would have been on board and subject to the same fate, but that the final question on the rules of the House was expected to be taken today, which prevented their going — It is an awful admonition of the uncertainty of human life, and that neither exalted place or [?] can shield us from death.

"It has come so sudden, and so unlooked for in this instance, as to prostrate us all.

"Poor Gilmer! He was our friend, Stuart, and if he had his errors (who is free from them) he had noble qualities and endearing virtues — He is cut down in the prime of manhood, bouyant and full of hope — May he who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, be with his widow and children to comfort, sustain, and protect them — "

The vivid and detailed description, as well as the almost incoherent style strongly suggest that Summers had been a witness of the disaster he describes; the agitated and shaking script of the letter itself is an even more forceful testimony to the emotion he labored under.

The collection of letters we have reviewed here is not likely to make any major changes in our understanding of the period and no unexpected discoveries about the early years of the Tyler administration have emerged. But if one of the purposes of the study of history is to make us better persons by transcending the limitations of time and letting us know other men and women better; if the character of a cultured person is that, being human, nothing human is alien to him, then the collection is valuable indeed. Alexander H. H. Stuart and many of his contemporaries were interesting, active, passionate people, well worth knowing in any age. The insight we now have into their lives, times, ambitions, and struggles is a splendid enrichment of our own lives and experience. Let us hope that our histories may one day be as richly rewarding to our descendants!

ROBERT M. SULLY'S PORTRAITS OF CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL

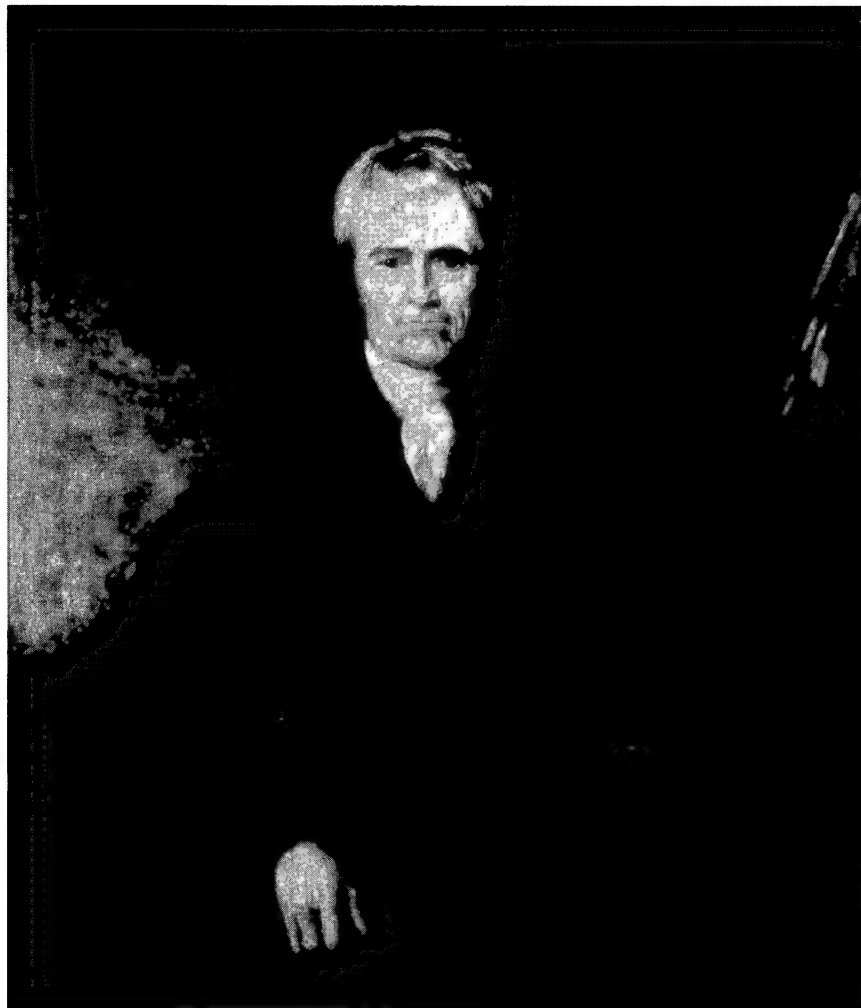
By Andrew Oliver*

"Wolves," so says tradition, "first took gold to Delphi."¹ Robert M. Sully, so says tradition, painted four portraits of John Marshall. But six have been found, each with some evidence of having been painted by Sully.

Robert Sully, a nephew of the great portraitist Thomas Sully, was born in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1803. The son of an actor with a taste for drawing who died when his son was scarcely ten years old, Robert took to painting at the age of sixteen. A year or so later he visited Philadelphia, where he was able to study under his uncle. Of that experience he wrote: "My obligations to my uncle I shall ever remember with gratitude. I remained with him eight or nine months, and on my return to Virginia commenced professionally. 'A prophet hath no honour in his own country.' I soon found that a painter is generally equally unfortunate in the city of his residence."² Sully then studied a while in England, where he was permitted to exhibit at the Royal Academy. In 1829 he was home again, working in Philadelphia, and later in Richmond and Washington. He died in Buffalo, New York, in 1855 on his way west to make his home in Wisconsin.

At least six portraits by or attributable to Sully are known, and the problem is to sort them out. The Virginia Constitutional Convention, held during the winter of 1829-1830, offered to painters an opportunity to catch the likenesses, in some cases the last portraits from life, of some of the early participants in the founding of the young Republic. Sully, like others, took advantage of the occasion and painted, among other great men, the chief justice. Marshall's opinion of Sully is amiably expressed in a letter of introduction the chief justice wrote in 1830 to his friend John Vaughan of Philadelphia, at one time secretary of the American Philosophical Society: "Mr. Sully, a young artist of merit, is desirous of trying his fortune on a larger theatre than

* This article is adapted from Chapter 14 of the Author's volume *The Portraits of John Marshall*, to be published by the University Press of Virginia in the fall of 1976. The volume describes and illustrates most of the many known portraits of the Chief Justice.



Portrait of John Marshall, Circuit Courtroom, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia. (Photo courtesy of Mrs. Robert Morris Armistead)

our village, and desires me to introduce him to some gentleman whose partiality for the arts and general character in Philadelphia may furnish the inclination and ability to give him that countenance, information, and may I say advice which a young man among strangers always needs. I hope not to oppress you with any real inconvenience when I take the liberty of presenting him to you as a person who will not disgrace your recommendation."³

Over the years some confusion has arisen as to just when Sully painted Marshall and which of the several portraits is the first. Let us examine the evidence.

In 1854, twenty-five years or so after the event, Sully wrote to the first secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: "I have, in my time, painted three different portraits of Chief Justice Marshall. One is in our *City Hall*, another in the Court House, at Staunton, Va., the 3rd in possession of a private family, this last I think I will be allowed to copy, if so, I will present it to your Society."⁴ Hanging in the city council chamber of the old City Hall in Richmond in 1972 was a handsome portrait of Marshall, approximately 43 by 32 1/2 inches in size, not in very good condition and perhaps overcleaned. It was then about to be moved to the new City Hall, the nearby rooms already being stripped of their furnishings. When the portrait was last cleaned, the records show that it was signed "R. M. Sully 1829," though the signature was not apparent when I saw the portrait in 1972. A newspaper account of the portrait in 1951 confuses the issue: "Little was known about the portrait of Chief Justice John Marshall until it was cleaned recently. But it is signed by R. M. Sully, 1829, and the Valentine Museum has records showing that Sully painted Marshall at least three times. One of these is in the Corcoran Museum in Washington, and a second belongs to the Wisconsin Historical Society. No one knows when the city obtained its copy or under what circumstances."⁵ No one, that is, who had not read the minutes of the Richmond City Council meetings. The minutes of the meeting of Monday, November 9, 1835, reveal the following: "Committee appointed to procure a full-length likeness of Chief Justice John Marshall and suspend in a suitable frame in City Hall. Members of Committee — James E. Heath, William Mitchell, and John S. Myers."⁶ The committee not having made much headway, the meeting of June 18, 1836, replaced members Myers and Mitchell with Gustavus A. Myers and John A. Lancaster. On January 10, 1837, success was achieved, with the committee reporting:

That they have for the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars, procured a half-length portrait of their late illustrious fellow citizen, John Marshall, remarkable, as they think, for the fidelity of its resemblance to the original and highly creditable as a specimen of the native talent. Your Committee cannot but felicitate themselves, that in performing the duty required of

them by the resolution of the Common Council, they have also been enabled to encourage the talents of the artist — Robert M. Sully, Esqr., a native and citizen of Richmond. Resolved that the Chamberlain be authorized to permit to Mr. Robert M. Sully, to have the use of the portrait of the late Chief Justice Marshall for the purpose of making a copy thereof.⁷

The minutes are at best vague, if not ambiguous. Was the portrait that the Council received a posthumous portrait, or was it one that Sully had painted from life and kept himself? The likeness is so strong and the portrait exhibits such depth and dignity that I have no doubt that it is a life portrait and that we can rely on its signature and date. It has none of the flat, shallow, characterless appearance so often encountered in a copy or imaginary likeness; it portrays Marshall in all the vigor and dignified self-possession he exhibits in the other great life portraits, such as that painted by Henry Inman in 1831.

There has recently been found a small drawing that is very likely the preliminary sketch for the 1829 portrait. The sketch is on paper in what appears to be brown ink over pencil, 12 by 7 3/4 inches in size, and now belongs to Victor Spark of New York. In the lower right hand corner it bears an inscription, "Drawn from life & Presented to A. Placide, Sketch of Judge Marshall, R. M. Sully, April 1, 1832." The date might well be the date of gift to Placide. The general pose, the strong rendering of the hands, the close facial similarity between the sketch and portrait, and particularly the presence of what appears to be the spine of a large volume near Marshall's left shoulder, an incidental feature but one that appears in both sketch and portrait, all conspire to suggest strongly that the drawing was preliminary to the portrait. It would be quite natural that the finished painting would be reduced to three-quarter length and the informal cross-legged pose eliminated. It is of interest to note in the sketch Marshall's invariable custom of wearing knee breeches rather than long trousers. The identity of A. Placide has escaped us; perhaps he was related to Henry Placide, a popular actor of the day.

But now what of the copy Sully was to make, for which he borrowed the Richmond City Council's portrait? He himself listed as his second portrait of Marshall one in the Circuit Courthouse at Staunton, Virginia, and a replica of the 1829 portrait is there, but in such poor condition that it is difficult to

judge its merit. It is somewhat larger than the original, 52 by 42 inches. According to an article in the *Staunton Spectator* of May 11, 1837, the portrait was commissioned by prominent citizens of Staunton. The artist received \$300 for the portrait, including its frame, and accompanied the portrait to Staunton in June 1838 to supervise its hanging in a good light. This would seem to dispose of two of the three portraits Sully mentioned to Draper. What of the last named, that "in possession of a private family"?

We have a record of a third Sully, but it is quite a different likeness of Marshall, so different that it is hard to believe it was painted in 1829 or 1830 during the Virginia Constitutional Convention. To discover its origin we have to jump ahead, late in Sully's life.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, chartered in 1853, had as its first secretary Lyman C. Draper, a believer in publicity who "missed no opportunity to advertise himself, the Historical Society, the city of Madison and the State of Wisconsin."⁸ In 1854 Draper procured as a gift from Thomas Sully a copy of his portrait of George Washington and through Sully got in touch with his nephew Robert. The younger Sully agreed to make a copy of his portrait of the Indian Chief Black Hawk, which was in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, and of two other portraits he had painted, one of Black Hawk's son and another of White Cloud, all for the sum of \$100. The money was raised and sent to the artist, and he, in grateful appreciation, agreed to send to the society "as a free gift a copy of his portrait of Marshall, painted from life, in the Virginia Historical Society."⁹

In March 1855, Sully wrote to Draper: "You will be gratified to learn that I can now Positively Promise a Portrait of *Judge Marshall*. After great difficulty, it is (the original) in my actual Possession. The Proprietor having very kindly lent it, for the purpose of making a copy, a Favour that would not have been granted to any one else. I congratulate you on this! as you will have an excellent likeness of a great & what is better a good man. The last of the Mohicans." On April 15 he continued: "I have now really news to tell you. Look out soon for the Portrait of Marshall, it is *half finished*, and I give you my word, it will be the best portrait I ever painted. The original was painted twenty or more years ago, in my *spring time*." Again on June 26: "Your Marshall, is now nearly done, I have only to Robe his Judgeship, and it will be complete." At last on August 25 he wrote: "Now for good news, tomorrow I varnish

Judge Marshall, & the Society will *really* have a good Picture. I was careful in not having it much seen, for fear the Society here, might wish a copy, which I have neither time nor desire to execute. A relation of the family did see it and observed (I give you his own words) 'that such a Picture should not leave Virginia. That must be Purchased &c.' To which I quickly responded, that the Picture was the property of the Wisconsin Hist. Sy. under such circumstances it *could not* be purchased. Now, mind, I will at once box him up, & send him, as I did the others."¹⁰

"Send him" he did and was then promptly elected an honorary member of the society. The whole affair so pleased and interested him that he decided to move out to Wisconsin to live. He set out from Richmond but died en route at Buffalo, New York, on October 16, 1855.

The Wisconsin Historical Society's portrait, 36 by 29 inches, is not signed but bears on the reverse: "Chief Justice Marshall / Painted by R. M. Sully / Presented by RMS / to the Histl. Society of / Wisconsin / Richmond Va / 1855." Stenciled on the back appears "From / W. S. Attler / 141 Main St. / Richmond, Va.," presumably the framer or shipper.

Where is the so-called "original" from which Sully made this copy? An article in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, quoted above, stated that the portrait was copied from a "portrait of Marshall, painted from life, in the Virginia Historical Society." But Sully in May 1854 told Draper of only three portraits he had by then painted of Marshall, one at the Richmond City Hall, its copy at Staunton, and a third "in possession of a private family." In the course of making the copy he had written that "the Proprietor" of the portrait had kindly lent it and that he didn't want it seen lest "the Society here might wish a copy." "The Society here" presumably meant the Virginia Historical Society. It is safe to assume, therefore, that in 1854 the "original" was in fact in private hands and that the 1942 reference in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* was in error. Curiously enough, the records of the Virginia Historical Society indicate that on February 4, 1857, Thomas H. Ellis of Richmond gave a portrait of Marshall to the society, but it cannot be firmly established whether it was a portrait by Sully or by Cephas Thompson. The society at one time had portraits of Marshall by both artists, but during the evacuation of Richmond in 1865 they were removed by friends of the society and placed for safekeeping in the vaults of a Richmond bank, a well-intentioned effort but with an un-

happy ending. The bank was destroyed when Richmond was burned, and both portraits were lost. Perhaps the lost Sully owned by Ellis was the one copied for the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington has a similar portrait, 37 by 29 1/4 inches in size. In 1900 John Sidney Webb wrote from Washington to Professor James B. Thayer of the Harvard Law School: "In regard to the portrait by Sully in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, the record is that it was received July 20, 1887, from G. W. Mayo of Richmond, Virginia, and is supposed to have been painted about 1843."¹¹ In a recent catalog of American paintings in the Corcoran Gallery it is stated that this portrait has on the back of the canvas "L. G. Allan / 1830," that it came from the collection of Mrs. Louisa G. Allan of Richmond by purchase in 1887, and that it "is one of three painted by Robert Sully in Richmond during the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1829/30, the other two being in the City Hall of Richmond and in the Court House at Staunton, Virginia."¹² The Corcoran portrait, therefore, can also lay claim to being the "original" copied by Sully for the Wisconsin Historical Society. It has all the appearances of an original life portrait, while the Wisconsin picture looks less like one and by no means justifies Sully's claim that it would be the "best portrait" he ever painted.

But there is one more claim to be considered. In the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts there hangs a fine portrait of the chief justice, received in 1935 as a gift from John Barton Payne, the records at the time apparently indicating that the artist was unknown. But we have an interesting clue to its origin. The picture is reproduced as the frontispiece to the second volume of John F. Dillon's *John Marshall: Life, Character and Judicial Services*, where it is also described in detail in a quotation from a letter that the then owner of the portrait, Judge John Barton Payne of Chicago, wrote to Dillon in 1901:

Chief Justice Marshall was a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30. While in Richmond attending the Convention a committee of that body engaged R. M. Sully to paint his portrait, the plan being to present the portrait to the Convention and through it to the State of Virginia. The portrait was not finished when the Convention adjourned and it remained the property of the artist, and it, together with a portrait of the elder Booth, descended to Mrs. Cole,

wife of the Rector of the Episcopal Church at Culpepper Court House, Virginia. After the assassination of President Lincoln the Federal troops slashed the Booth portrait with their sabres and destroyed it. The Marshall portrait was undisturbed and remained in the Cole family at Culpepper until 1891, when it was acquired by me through T. Willoughby Cole of that family, now a resident of Chicago. Conway Robinson, of Virginia, who knew Chief Justice Marshall personally, pronounced this portrait the best likeness of Marshall known. The Sully portrait was exhibited at the World's Fair, Chicago, in 1893; at the Atlanta Exposition, and at the Art Institute in Chicago.¹³

There is the evidence that has so far come to light; there may well be more. It is unlikely that Sully forgot one or two replicas he had painted over the years, but it is not impossible. If he still had in his possession the portrait described by Judge Payne, then why would he have troubled to spend the spring of 1855 copying another portrait borrowed from its "Proprietor" — or was the whole thing a trick he was playing? But memories often play us false. In his seventy-third year John Quincy Adams made a list purporting to comprise all the portraits that had by then been painted of him; yet in fact he omitted some and included others that had not been done.¹⁴ I believe that the Richmond City Hall portrait, following its preliminary sketch, is the original Sully portrait of Marshall, later reproduced in the portrait for the Staunton courthouse. Of the second type of Sully likeness, I strongly suspect that the one owned by the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts is the original, that Judge Payne fell into error in describing part of its early history, and that the Corcoran Gallery's portrait is an early replica. The replica done years later from the Wisconsin Historical Society was probably taken from the Virginia Museum's picture. We have to make a judgment objectively as art historians on the evidence that is available. Tradition is unreliable. "Wolves," so says tradition, "first took gold to Delphi."

Andrew Oliver

FOOTNOTES

1. Fredrika Bremer, *Greece and the Greeks*, trans. Mary Howitt (London, 1863), II, 153.

2. William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), II, 153. The Dover reprint (New York, 1969) retains the same pagination as the 1834 edition.

3. Sept. 10, 1830, reproduced in facsimile in William H. Brown's *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished American Citizens, with Biographical Sketches, and Fac-similes of Original Letters* (Hartford, Conn., 1845), opposite the silhouette of Marshall by Brown at the commencement of the volume, the page being unnumbered.

4. Sully to Lyman C. Draper, May 13, 1854, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

5. *Times-Dispatch* (Richmond), Aug. 29, 1951, 4.

6. Richmond City Council Minutes, Council Book 10, 127, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

7. *Ibid.*, 226.

8. William B. Hesseltine, *Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper* (Madison, Wis., 1954), 146.

9. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Pocahontas and Jamestown," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XXV (1941-1942), 39, 42.

10. Extracts from Letters from Robert Sully to Lyman Draper, State Hist. Soc. of Wis.

11. Dec. 27, 1900, Thayer Papers, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

12. *A Catalogue of the Collection of American Paintings in the Corcoran Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1966), I, 64.

13. John F. Dillon, comp. and ed., *John Marshall: Life, Character and Judicial Services* . . . (Chicago, 1903).

14. Andrew Oliver, *Portraits of John Quincy Adams and His Wife* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 2.

RECOVERED CIVIL WAR RECORDS

By Charles R. Chittum

September 1976

In June of 1862 an officer named Captain Mark L. DeMotte was Acting Quartermaster in charge of the 2nd Division, United States Army, stationed in Martinsburg, Virginia. During the next year he copied receipts of his supply shipments into a small ledger. A typical entry on June 26, 1862 noted that he shipped 19,168 pounds of corn in 166 sacks to General Fremont's headquarters, employing 8 separate teamsters.

113 years later, Captain DeMotte's record book was found lying in a heap of papers in a half-demolished building in downtown Staunton. How it got there will probably never be known for certain; but, together with other Civil War records found on a February afternoon in 1975, it provides a fascinating glimpse into the everyday lives of the soldiers involved in that struggle.

The Civil War period is still reflected by some of the structures in Staunton, although most of the downtown buildings were built in the last quarter of the 19th century. A number of these were demolished in 1975 in the block bounded by Beverley Street on the north, Lewis and Johnson Streets on the west and south, and Central Avenue on the east. Over half of this property was cleared to make way for the construction of a parking garage by the city. Most of the razed structures were old warehouses, but one, facing Lewis Street, was a church erected in the years 1888-1889. It served as the Church of the Brethren until the 1960's when the congregation moved to a new building, and for a while after that it was occupied by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. With that organization's construction of a new headquarters, it was purchased by the city. For a brief period a senior citizens center was operated in the basement, but final plans for the parking facility resulted in an order for demolition.

Although the church building had been altered by consecutive tenants, it still presented a characteristic Gothic Revival appearance, with a steep gable roof, rudimentary buttresses along the exterior walls, and pointed-arch windows. It was remarkably similar in shape to the parish hall of Trinity Church across the street, and was probably influenced by it in design.

By the late winter of 1975, however, the old church was standing with half its roof removed, without windows or main

floor. There was little apparent reason for a passerby to place any importance in it, but a remarkable discovery was soon to be made there.

Several local persons who were interested in Staunton's history had decided to pay one last visit to the site, in order to make a photographic record of another vanishing building. One of them had climbed up the rear stairs to the gallery for the purpose of making an overall view of the interior. Backing up to compose his shot, he stepped upon some old papers which were strewn about the balcony. Since the building was well on its way to oblivion, and all salvageable items were long removed, it did not seem likely that the papers would be anything important. Yet, the closest piece appeared somewhat unusual. Reaching down to retrieve it, the photographer held a thin sheet, typed with blue ink, and dated June 12, 1893. It was signed "Jed. Hotchkiss."

The signature of General "Stonewall" Jackson's distinguished map-maker and war-time aide was a startling discovery. After a quick glance at the rest of the material, it was decided to call for permission to remove them, and eventually a member of city council arrived to help gather the documents. Some material could have been taken out earlier by workmen and discarded, for on the pavement in front of the church was a rain-soaked page from the *Staunton Vindicator* dated March 3, 1893, which might have fallen there during the removal of debris.

A closer look at the first item found showed it to be the minutes of an 1893 meeting of the Stonewall Jackson Camp, Confederate Veterans, No. 25, Staunton, Virginia:

Camp came to order promptly at 8 P.M., Commander Hotchkiss presiding—

On motion of Comrade McFarland the reading of the Minutes and the regular order of business were dispensed with, and, pursuant to announcement Commander Hotchkiss made one of his vivid and instructive "Chalk Talks on the famous Chancellorsville Campaign", Stonewall Jackson's last battle, where he embalmed his fadeless laurels with his life's blood—

The positions and movements of the contending armies were illustrated upon the black board, and the whole was concluded with a thrilling review of the Campaign, which was highly appreciated by the large audience in attendance.

On motion of Comrade McIlhany Commander Hotchkiss and Captain T. C. Morton were appointed to represent Stonewall Jackson Camp at the meeting of the Grand Camp of Virginia at Portsmouth, Va., June 1893.

At the suggestion of Commander Hotchkiss a resolution was adopted inviting General John Gibbon, of the U. S. A. retired, to address the Camp at some future day. On motion Camp adjourned to its next regular meeting, July 10th., at 8 P. M.

Y. W. May
Secty.

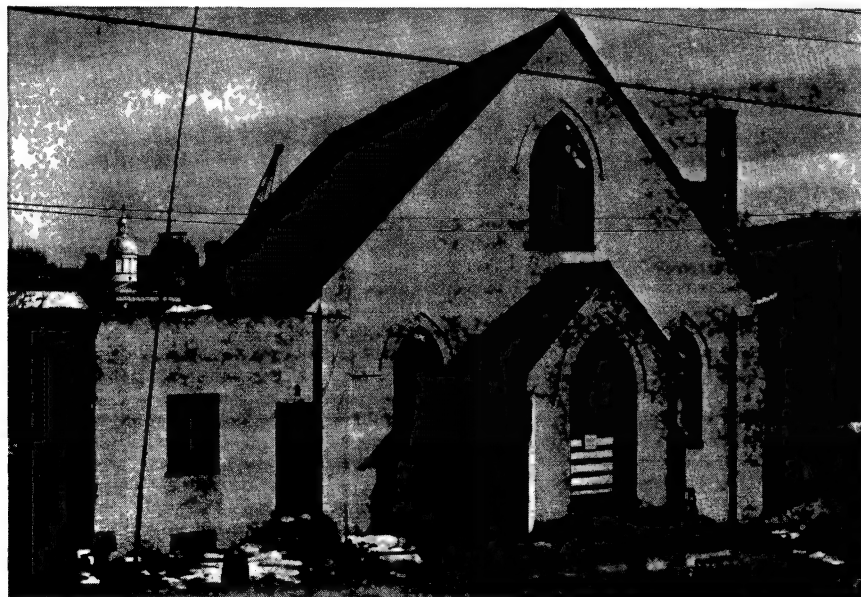
Jed. Hotchkiss
Commander

1893.
April 17th, 1893.

At the suggestion of Commander Hotchkiss, from April 10th to which the public were invited to hear an address from Major Jed. Hotchkiss on the battle of "The Bloody Angle" - which was largely attended both by the Camp and the public, where an able, instructive, and interesting address was listened to with profound attention and pleasure - and was frequently applauded.

After the address the Camp was called to order for business, with Commander P. B. Berkeley in the chair - and

Signature of Jed. Hotchkiss on minutes of Confederate Veterans' meetings. Discovered in old Brethren Church, Staunton.



Old Brethren Church, Staunton during demolition in early 1975.

Staunton. His age was given as 71 years, his occupation as that of a shoemaker. The account of his service was the following:

Enlisted in Rockbridge Co. 1863 in Home Guard & Served until spring of Sixty four joined the 3rd. Battalion Infantry did Service in Valley of Va did good fighting & Some good Running at times from the Valley to Lynchburg & drove the enemy from there came down the Valley & soon went to Richmond guarded prisoners for a few months then to the trenches 9 miles below Richmond stayed there until Feb 65 came home on Furlow & transfer to the 60 Va Capt Georges co & never saw the company afterwards Served as courier for a few days before Lee Surrendered

This application was dated May 21, 1918, and on the outside was the notation "elected unanimously on 19th Nov."

The second application found was that of L. T. Woodward, Waynesboro, age 72 years, a retired carpenter "unable to do much work." His history on the application read as follows:

Enlisted March 1863 in Staunton, Va. Co. D. 22 Reg. Va. Infantry. Capt Kerns & Col. Pattons Was in Battles Viz — Winchester 1864 — Piedmont 1864 — Cold Harbor 1864 — Spotsylvania 1864 — and in various other engagements, was taken prisoner near Richmond in Feb. 1865 & sent to Fort Delaware & was not discharged from prison till in June 1865

There were many different items found on that February day in 1975 in the old Brethren Church building, and they included, in addition to what has just been described:

- A. A notebook containing the following entries:
 - Register of Commissioned Officers
(8 men are listed)
 - Register of Non-Commissioned Officers
(25 men)
 - Register of Men Transferred to Company E
(5 men)
 - Register of Deaths
(7 men are listed: 4 died of typhoid, 1 of pneumonia, 1 of "inflammation of the bowels", 1 from "taking chloroform thro mistake".)
 - Register of Men Killed
(15 men listed, with date and location)
 - Register of Men Mortally Wounded
(13 men listed, with date of wounding and of death; interval varies from several days to over a month.)
 - Register of Men Dropped from the Rolls
(3 men)



Interior of Church on the day material was discovered in upper left of balcony.

October 1863

Item	Issued to	Received by	Remarks
1. 1st. 1st. 1st.	1st. 1st. 1st.	1st. 1st. 1st.	1st. 1st. 1st.
2. 2nd. 2nd. 2nd.	2nd. 2nd. 2nd.	2nd. 2nd. 2nd.	2nd. 2nd. 2nd.
3. 3rd. 3rd. 3rd.	3rd. 3rd. 3rd.	3rd. 3rd. 3rd.	3rd. 3rd. 3rd.
4. 4th. 4th. 4th.	4th. 4th. 4th.	4th. 4th. 4th.	4th. 4th. 4th.
5. 5th. 5th. 5th.	5th. 5th. 5th.	5th. 5th. 5th.	5th. 5th. 5th.
6. 6th. 6th. 6th.	6th. 6th. 6th.	6th. 6th. 6th.	6th. 6th. 6th.
7. 7th. 7th. 7th.	7th. 7th. 7th.	7th. 7th. 7th.	7th. 7th. 7th.
8. 8th. 8th. 8th.	8th. 8th. 8th.	8th. 8th. 8th.	8th. 8th. 8th.
9. 9th. 9th. 9th.	9th. 9th. 9th.	9th. 9th. 9th.	9th. 9th. 9th.
10. 10th. 10th. 10th.	10th. 10th. 10th.	10th. 10th. 10th.	10th. 10th. 10th.
11. 11th. 11th. 11th.	11th. 11th. 11th.	11th. 11th. 11th.	11th. 11th. 11th.
12. 12th. 12th. 12th.	12th. 12th. 12th.	12th. 12th. 12th.	12th. 12th. 12th.
13. 13th. 13th. 13th.	13th. 13th. 13th.	13th. 13th. 13th.	13th. 13th. 13th.
14. 14th. 14th. 14th.	14th. 14th. 14th.	14th. 14th. 14th.	14th. 14th. 14th.
15. 15th. 15th. 15th.	15th. 15th. 15th.	15th. 15th. 15th.	15th. 15th. 15th.
16. 16th. 16th. 16th.	16th. 16th. 16th.	16th. 16th. 16th.	16th. 16th. 16th.
17. 17th. 17th. 17th.	17th. 17th. 17th.	17th. 17th. 17th.	17th. 17th. 17th.
18. 18th. 18th. 18th.	18th. 18th. 18th.	18th. 18th. 18th.	18th. 18th. 18th.
19. 19th. 19th. 19th.	19th. 19th. 19th.	19th. 19th. 19th.	19th. 19th. 19th.
20. 20th. 20th. 20th.	20th. 20th. 20th.	20th. 20th. 20th.	20th. 20th. 20th.
21. 21st. 21st. 21st.	21st. 21st. 21st.	21st. 21st. 21st.	21st. 21st. 21st.
22. 22nd. 22nd. 22nd.	22nd. 22nd. 22nd.	22nd. 22nd. 22nd.	22nd. 22nd. 22nd.
23. 23rd. 23rd. 23rd.	23rd. 23rd. 23rd.	23rd. 23rd. 23rd.	23rd. 23rd. 23rd.
24. 24th. 24th. 24th.	24th. 24th. 24th.	24th. 24th. 24th.	24th. 24th. 24th.
25. 25th. 25th. 25th.	25th. 25th. 25th.	25th. 25th. 25th.	25th. 25th. 25th.
26. 26th. 26th. 26th.	26th. 26th. 26th.	26th. 26th. 26th.	26th. 26th. 26th.
27. 27th. 27th. 27th.	27th. 27th. 27th.	27th. 27th. 27th.	27th. 27th. 27th.
28. 28th. 28th. 28th.	28th. 28th. 28th.	28th. 28th. 28th.	28th. 28th. 28th.
29. 29th. 29th. 29th.	29th. 29th. 29th.	29th. 29th. 29th.	29th. 29th. 29th.
30. 30th. 30th. 30th.	30th. 30th. 30th.	30th. 30th. 30th.	30th. 30th. 30th.
31. 31st. 31st. 31st.	31st. 31st. 31st.	31st. 31st. 31st.	31st. 31st. 31st.

Equipment issue chart from Company E roll book, Confederate forces.

Register of Deserters (14 men)

Company Roll

("Original Company Roll, April 18/61, Harper's Ferry, Virginia".

156 men are listed, with age, height, complexion, color of eyes and hair, where born, occupation, and details of enlistment: when, where, by whom, term, and rank.

Chart

("We the Undersigned Non-Commissioned Officers & Privates of Company E, do hereby acknowledge to have received of Capt. Grills the several articles set opposite to our respective names."

The chart has the following items to be checked:

Caps, Jackets, Pants, Drawers, Shoes, Socks, Great Coats, Shirts, OverShirts, Blankets.

Date of the issue is October 8, 1862 to March 31, 1863. Additional charts run through April 1864.)

There are additional entries in this notebook to indicate that it was being used to record personal transactions of money and supplies through 1870.

- B. Charts, By-Laws, Rules of Order and List of Officers and Members of Stonewall Jackson Camp, No. 25, Confederate Veterans, of Staunton, Va. Adopted July 1892. (6 copies)
- C. Notebook containing a list of dues paid through 1907. (221 members are on the rolls)
- D. Resolution adopted May 25, 1896, on death of General John Echols (2½ pages giving a biography and details of war service)
- E. Proceedings of Annual Meetings, Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, 1897-1929. (23 volumes)
- F. An Address by Rev. W. J. E. Cox, Pastor Baptist Church, Staunton, Va. Delivered on the occasion of the decoration of the Confederate Soldiers' graves, at Staunton, Va., June 9th, 1892.
- G. Mahone's Brigade! A Metrical Address. Recited on the Anniversary of the Battle of the Crater, before the Surviving Officers and Men of Mahone's Brigade. By Captain James Barron Hope
(a sample verse:
Like waving plume upon Bellona's crest
Or comet in red majesty arrayed,
Or Persia's flame transported to the West,
Shall shine the glory of Mahone's Brigade!)
- H. A bronze medal, Southern Cross of Honor
(Inscribed: Deo Vindice 1861-1865
an attached nameplate is engraved F. T. Stribling)
- I. General Orders Headquarters, United Confederate Veterans
New Orleans, La., October 26th, 1891
- J. Dedication, Confederate Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, Richmond, Va., May 30, 1894
- K. Program, Lee-Jackson Day Celebration, Opera House, Staunton, Va., January 19th, 1912.
- L. Report of Board of Visitors, Lee Camp Soldiers' Home, Richmond, Va., December 31, 1915.

- M. Miscellaneous newspaper clippings of stories concerning the Stonewall Jackson Camp, dating from 1893 through 1915.
N. Several dozen letters exchanged within the state and national Confederate Veterans' organizations.

Of all the objects found in the ruined Brethren Church, by far the most intriguing was the journal of Captain Mark L. DeMotte, mentioned at the beginning of this article. For one thing, it was the only non-Confederate material present; Capt. DeMotte was a Union soldier. Second, the variety of information contained within the book provided us with first-hand knowledge of the war.

Captain DeMotte gave many details of the supplies for which he was responsible as the Acting Quartermaster of the 2nd Division, 8th Army Corps, U.S. Army. The handwriting was clear, the ink still quite legible after a century of storage in uncertain conditions. The first page set the form for most of his entries:

Received at Martinsburg June 11th 1862 of Mark L. DeMotte Capt. & A.Q.M. the following articles all in good condition which I promise to deliver in like good order and condition to Capt. C.H. Goulding A.Q.M. at Genl Fremont's Head Quarters.
Robert White Wagon Master

No.	Quantity	Articles	Condition
28	Twenty Eight Bbls	Hard Bread	Good
2	Two "	Rice	"
10	Ten "	Sugar	"
4	Four Sacks	Coffee	"
10	Ten Bbls	Beans	"

R. H. White
Wagon Master

Copies of these receipts occurred almost daily through July of 1862. At times there were a great many items of interest, and very large shipments. Consider the following:

4	Four	Boxes	510	Blouses Linen
2	Two	"	250	" "
1	One	"	250	Prs Drawers
3	Three	"	927	Shirts
1	One	"	150	Rubber Blankets
2	Two	"	200	Tent Blankets
4	Four	"	200	Prs. Boots
5	Five	"	360	Prs Inf. Trowsers
4	Four	"	320	Prs Reinf. Trowsers
1	One	"	250	Haversacks
1	One	"	80	Prs Cavalry Jackets

On this same day, Captain DeMotte also shipped 143 barrels of hard bread, five sacks of coffee, and fifteen boxes of soap to Captain Goulding at General Fremont's Head Quarters.

Other items which made up daily shipments included barrels of vinegar, casks of bacon, boxes of candles, and many sacks of corn. In one day, the 21st of June, 1862, in a shipment mentioned earlier, 166 sacks of corn were sent, with the total weight recorded as 19,168 pounds. We could tell from these figures that the average sack of corn in these days weighed about 115 pounds. Further, DeMotte listed the separate teamster responsible for each wagon load, which was usually about 20 sacks of corn. So the average wagon was carrying in excess of a ton.

Besides food and clothing, there were many other items required for the army in the field. A cross-section of different shipments from the ledger would have included these diverse supplies:

1	One Box Friction Primers
1	One Trunk Marked Capt. Crane
99	Horses
9	Mules
8	Eight Kegs of Horse Shoes
1	One anvil
6	Six Harnesses
1	One Bass Drum
10	Ten Tenor Drums
1	One Regimental Flag
10	Ten Fifes
10	Ten Drum Heads extra
4	Four Mule Collars

and spades, axes, picks, woolen blankets, camp kettles, riding bridles, wagon saddles, canteens, Common tents, Sibley tents, envelopes, pen holders, blotting paper, lead pencils, and reams of cap paper.

After a year's worth of such notes, Captain DeMotte began making records of "Transportation Furnished." In each case there was a date, name, and destination. These were excerpts from 1862:

Nov. 24th Lt. Chalfont & 6 men on order of Milroy from New Creek to Grafton & Return.

One company (80) men, (8) Eight Horses, Two Wagons & Camp Equipage from New Creek to Rawls-

burg Va by order of Col. Washburn approved by Genl Milroy

Dec. 3 7 Seven men from New Creek to Washington on order Genl Milroy Exchanged prisoners rejoining their Regts.

Dec. 24 George Shaefer from New Creek Va to Fairmont Va Wounded man to be charged on his pay roll

These shipments of men ran daily through March 25th, 1863, and usually involved a single person, although occasionally larger numbers of prisoners were included. It was interesting to see that each entry bore the notation, "By order Genl Milroy." Authorization by a commanding general for each single person seemed unusual, and led to a closer investigation of this figure's role in the war. The resulting discovery made this material all the more significant, but deepened the mystery which still surrounds it today.

The last shipment mentioned in Captain DeMotte's book in his handwriting was on April 17th, 1863:

Received Winchester Va to be sent to Capt Bosbyshell Martinsburg Va for storage. Transportation furnished.

81	Eighty-one	Enfield Rifles
79	Seventy-nine	Bayonets
29	Twenty-nine	Gun Slings
69	Sixty-nine	Waist Belts
77	Seventy-seven	Crop Belts
83	Eighty-three	Cartridge Boxes
81	Eighty-one	scabords
69	Sixty-nine	cap boxes

At this point in the journal Captain DeMotte's contributions ended, and another person began to use these pages. The next lists were labeled "Tax In Kind" with the left side for receipts and the right for shipments. They covered the period from September 1863 until March 1865, and were made by two persons, J. S. Wallace and J. J. Bell. But the most startling fact about these new records was reflected in the people listed there: David Koiner, Thomas Shumate, John H. Shirey, Jacob Hilderbrand, Jacob Swisher, H. H. Kindig, all typical Valley names. Moreover, there were women listed, like Sarah Gray, Margaret McNutt, Mrs. Mary Hanger, and Mrs. H. C. Patrick. A reference to Staunton in one place seemed to confirm that these were records of taxes

levied on the local population at large. A typical payment was that of David Yount for September 1864, when he contributed 11 bags of wool. But who was collecting the taxes recorded here? It is unlikely that it was the Union forces, for these records began in 1863, and the invaders did not reach Staunton until June of 1864. Moreover, the supplies listed were rather meager. The "November Report 1864" showed these results:

	Rye		Oats		Wool	Hay
	Bu	lbs	Bu	lbs	lbs	lbs
Amt on hand	9	2	6	6	28	—
" Recvd	30	1	5	18	97½	800
" Issued	39	3	5	20	—	270
" on hand	39	3	6	4	125½	—
1st Dec 1864						

How then did the ledger of a Captain in the U.S. Army fall into Confederate hands and eventually find a resting place in Staunton? The attempt to find the answer has yielded a remarkable story.

Captain Mark L. DeMotte was destined for a greater place in history than the pages of this article. Through his association with General Robert H. Milroy it was possible to trace him in an extraordinary chapter of Civil War history.

General Milroy was a Major General in the U. S. Army, commanding the 2nd Division of the 8th Army Corps. In the summer of 1863 his headquarters were in Winchester, Va. Between June 12 and June 15, he was routed by the Confederate forces and driven north. This defeat, which included the loss of many supplies and a large number of artillery pieces, opened the way for Lee's push towards Gettysburg. It was a disaster so great that General Milroy was arrested and a Court of Inquiry convened in Washington to determine if he should face a court-martial. The entire transcript of this proceeding can be found in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*.¹ According to this account, the Court met on August 7, 1863 and for several weeks thereafter, interviewing many witnesses in the affair.

It was the feeling of many that General Milroy had delayed his retreat too long, and that the abandonment of some 200 wagons, 24 guns, and 200,000 rounds of small arms ammunition could have been avoided. General Milroy believed a small force to be approaching Winchester, when in fact it was General Lee's army of some 30-40,000 men. His superiors telegraphed the

order to retreat, but Milroy never received it — the lines had been cut. His last orders were to hold Winchester.

The Court called as a witness the Acting Division Quartermaster. His name was Captain Mark L. DeMotte. He stated that he had arrived in Winchester on June 11 from Martinsburg. He gave a very detailed account of the disastrous retreat, but he also tended to support Milroy's actions. He reported that the supplies lost were not unusual under the circumstances:

I do not think that any more could have been taken than was taken.²

He told how his supply train came under heavy artillery fire, and how the wagons were forced to scatter because of it. He stated that he lost 198 wagons out of a total of 354. The Union cavalry charged them, and a wild rout ensued, some of which was the result of cowardice in certain units. But Milroy was not to blame for it. Captain DeMotte's personal situation became so confused that he stated

My papers were all lost.³

It seems likely that this ledger fell that day into Confederate hands, and was brought back to Staunton, where it saw continued use. We can be sure that it would have been studied closely by intelligence troops, perhaps even Captain Thomas D. Ranson of Staunton, who was a scout in the secret service department of the Confederate cavalry corps. We will probably never be certain of any more details, but then who can say what may be resting in the corner of some Staunton attic or basement?

The Court of Inquiry took the testimony of Captain DeMotte and others into account, and General Milroy was exonerated. The final report of October 27, 1863 concluded that he never received his order to withdraw, and that

No court-martial is deemed necessary or proper in this case.
(signed) A. Lincoln⁴

Captain DeMotte returned to his duties in the Union army. We are rather certain that his ledger book of the first two years was not in his possession. It was to remain part of a broken circle of history for another century.

Much more study remains to be done on the material rescued on that February afternoon in 1975. This account can be

viewed as a progress report, and, it is hoped, as a reminder of how easily our heritage can be lost through indifference. History is little without the written word, and at times it seems that our vision of our own past is a very fragile thing.

FOOTNOTES

1. *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Washington: 1889. Series I, Vol. XXVII Part II.
2. *Ibid.*, Chapter 39, P. 116.
3. *Ibid.*, P. 117.
4. *Ibid.*, P. 197.

AN AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA, PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX LIST OF 1782

(Area that became Bath County)

April 11th 1782 A list of the Taxable property belonging to the Inhabitants in Bounds of Capt John Browns Company

Robert McCreery	1 Tithable above 21 Years	2 Negroes (Viz) Nancy & Lucy	16 horses & 48 head cattle
John Kincaid Esqr	2 Tithables above 21 years	1 Negroe Sall	9 head of horses & 28 head of Cattle
Thomas Feemster	1 Tithable	6 Negroes	24 head of horses & 37 head of cows
Joseph Newton	3 Tithables	7 horses & 13 head of Cattle	
George Benston	1 Tithable	5 head of horses & 9 head of Cattle	
Alexander Black	1 Tithable	2 horses & 4 head of horses	
William Black	1 Tithable	2 Negroes	5 horses & 11 head of Cattle
James Bleak	1 Tithable	4 head of horses and 9 head of Cattle	
James Kenny	1 Tithable	4 horses & 4 head of Cattle	
Joseph Mais	2 tithables	10 head of horses & 25 head of Cattle	
Leonard Beall	1 Tithable	4 horses & 10 head of Cattle	
Stephen Mayhall	1 Tithable	3 horses and 4 head of Cattle	
Samuel Mayhall	1 Tithable	1 horse & 3 head of Cattle	
Patrick Miller	2 Tithables	12 horses & 24 head Cattle	
John McCreery	1 Tithable	11 horses & 15 head of Cattle	
Taylor Townsend	1 Tithable	3 head of horses & 4 head of Cattle	
John McRoberts	1 Tithable	11 head of horses & 28 head of Cattle	
Ervin Benston	1 Tithable	1 horse & 2 head of Cattle	
Matthias Benston	1 Tithable	4 Negroes (viz) Patience	Augusta
Harry & Nann	6 head of horses & 13 head of cattle		
Van Swearengen	1 Tithable	2 horses & 7 Cattle	
John McClung	1 Tithable	4 horses & 13 head of Cattle	
William Moore	1 Tithable	5 horses & 11 head of Cattle	
William Thompson	1 Tithable	2 horses & 9 head of Cattle	

George Francisco 1 Tithable 8 horses & 19 head of Cattle
 William Young 1 Tithable 5 horses & 14 head of Cattle
 James Hughart 1 Tithable 1 Negroe 3 horses & 10 head of Cattle
 Samuel Cartmill 1 Tithable 3 horses & 12 head Cattle
 John Gillespy 1 Tithable 2 Negroes 6 horses & 15 head of Cattle
 William Rhea 1 Tithable 1 Negroe 9 Horses & 21 head of Cattle
 Thophilus Bleak 1 Tithable 2 horses & 5 head of Cattle
 George Bleak 1 Tithable 4 head horses & 6 head of Cattle
 Andrew Singlenton (Sitlington) one tithable 12 Negroes 8 head of horses 41 head of Cattle
 Jeremiah Frame 1 Tithable 3 horses & 10 head of Cattle
 Charles Ervin 1 Tithable 5 horses & 18 head of Cattle
 John Cartmill 1 Tithable 8 horses & 9 head of Cattle
 Andrew Moody 1 Tithable 2 head horses & 7 head Cattle
 John Rhea 1 Tithable 1 Negroe 6 horses & 14 head Cattle
 Michal Francisco 1 Tithable 2 horses & 3 head of Cattle
 Charles Cameron 1 Tithable 8 horses & 2 head of Cattle
 Sarah Lewis 8 Negroes (Viz) Will Ben Jack Dick Kate Celia
 Sara Eals 18 head of horses & 22 head of Cattle
 James Knight 1 Tithable 1 horses & 5 head of Cattle
 John Montgomery 1 Tithable 5 horses & 22 head Cattle
 James Young 1 Tithable & 1 horse
 Ralph Laverty 1 Tithable 8 horses & 10 head of Cattle
 Samuel Moses 1 Tithable 2 horses & 3 head of Cattle
 David Frame 1 Tithable 6 horses & 19 head Cattle
 John Sittlington 1 Tithable 6 head of horses & 8 head Cattle
 Robt Sittlington 1 Tithable 5 head of horses & 5 head of Cattle
 Andrew McCaslin 1 Tithable & 3 head of horses
 Robert Stuart 1 Tithable 6 head Horses & 16 head of Cattle
 John McCaslin 1 Tithable 8 Horses & 21 head of Cattle
 James Mattin Earley 1 Tithable 1 Horse & 1 Cow
 John Smith 1 Tithable 5 Horses & 4 head of Cattle
 Edward Thompson 1 Tithable 4 horses & 11 head of Cattle
 James Sloan 1 Tithable 6 Horses & 14 head of Cattle
 Daniel Stout 1 Tithable 7 horses & 7 head of Cattle
 Nathan Crawford 1 Tithable 6 Negroes & 8 head of Cattle
 William Crawford 1 Tithable 1 Horse
 Robert Thompson 1 Tithable 3 Horses
 Samuel McDonald 1 Tithable 10 Horses & 8 head of Cattle
 John McDonnald 1 Tithable 9 Horses & 7 head of Cattle
 John Barr 1 Tithable 2 Horses & 2 head of Cattle
 Hugh Hicklin 1 Tithable 9 Horses & 13 head of Cattle
 John Hodge 1 Tithable 6 6Negroes viz Tom Phil Fan George
 Venus Esther 11 Cattle & 24 head of cattle
 James Mountgomery 1 Tithable 6 horses & 4 head of Cattle
 William Dickey 1 Tithable 6 horses and 10 head of Cattle
 Alexander Kirk 1 Tithable 5 horses & 6 head of Cattle
 Thomas Gillaspay 1 Tithable 3 horses and 10 head of Cattle
 Samuel Gillespy 1 Tithable 3 Horses & 3 head of Cattle
 Thomas Cochran 1 white Tithable 8 Negroes 8 horses & 4 head of Cattle
 William Wildridge 1 Tithable 2 Horses & 6 head of Cattle

James Irvin 1 Tithable 5 head of Horses
 John Cowardin 1 white Tithable 3 negroes Viz Charles Jack and Mary 7 horses & 3 head of Cattle
 John Brown 1 Tithable 6 horses & 2 head of Cattle
 Sampson Wilson 1 Tithable 3 horses & 2 head of Cattle
 Samuel Day 1 Tithable 2 horses & 3 head of Cattle
 Charles Donnally 2 white Tithables 2 negroes viz Ben and Bell 17 horses & 13 head of Cattle
 Alexander Crawford 1 white Tithable 2 Negroes, Viz Ceazer and Jude 6 horses & 6 head of cattle
 Hunkrist Carlock 1 Tithable 5 horses & 15 head of Cattle

Seventeenth of a Landmark Series

OLD HOMES OF AUGUSTA COUNTY

"Arbor Hill"

The Home of Mr. and Mrs. Dayton Hodges

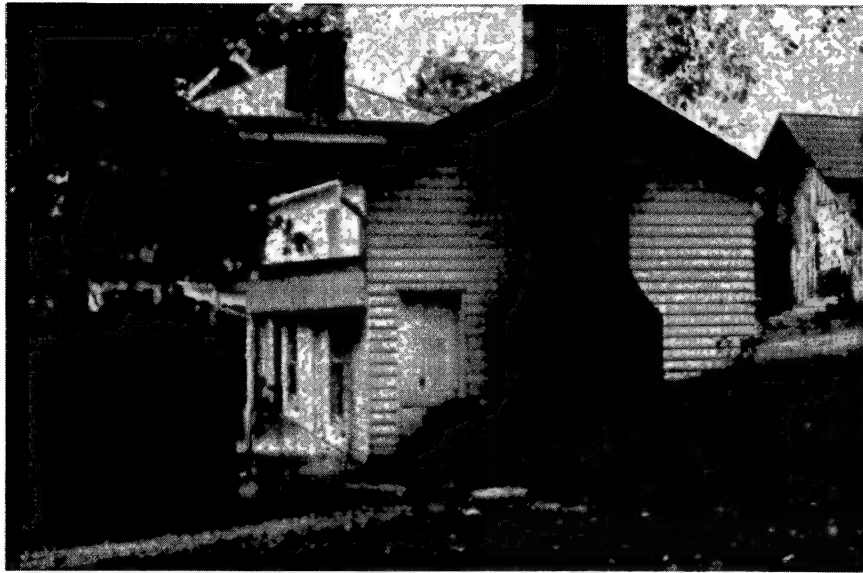
By Gladys B. Clem

With the backdrop of the Alleghany foothills, "Arbor Hill Farm," just off the Middlebrook road (Rt. 695) has sheltered five generations of Mrs. Hodges's family, being built by her ancestor, Captain William Young in 1820.

William Young left Pennsylvania sometime at the turn of the century and had come to Staunton to live. A silversmith by trade, he was the town's first jeweler and one of its leading citizens. He resided at the corner of Frederick and New Streets and was a communicant of Trinity Episcopal Church and he is buried in Trinity's church yard.

When England declared war in 1812 and set fire to the White House, with angry enthusiasm Staunton's business men immediately enlisted for service. William Young served as Captain of one of the Staunton companies.

Afterwards tiring of life in town the Captain purchased extensive acreage in the Middlebrook area. He gave it the name of "Arbor Hill" from the large number of trees with which he surrounded the dwelling. The nearby village of Arbor Hill received its name from the Young farm.



(Photos by William H. Bushman)



Characteristic of most country homes of that period, much of the building material came from the land itself. Clay for the handmade brick, that was burned just to the rear of the house, was formed into the dwelling's two foot thick walls and the wide pine flooring, held up by the heavy log supports, were all products of the nearby woods.

The home is designed with a broad central hall which leads from the front entrance to the rear, both doors are alike, being double cross in design and the hand made locks and hinges are original. The dining and drawing rooms are both entered from the hall and they, as all main rooms, have wide brick fireplaces. The mantels are simple in design but excellent in proportion and the 18-paned windows make the high ceilinged rooms light and airy.

As the Captain was building his home, he was also keeping the local cabinet makers busy. The mahogany dining table, that seats fourteen at a sitting, the matching chairs, the handsome Sheraton sideboard and Hepplewhite server are examples of his excellent taste.

To the left of the main building, a frame wing was used as the kitchen originally, where the food was prepared then carried into the main part of the house. The broad fireplace, with its crane and spits and the many sized iron pots are mindful of the heat and inconveniences of preparing a meal of the past. A family room of like proportions gives architectural balance to the opposite side of the house. Modern baths have been added.

Captain Young's only daughter, Margaret, married James E. White, who died leaving her with a small daughter, Virginia. A few years later the young widow was remarried to Lorenze Bryan. They had no children. Bryan only lived a few years and again Margaret was left a young widow — residing with her father at "Arbor Hill." She had a gift for farm management and conducted the property with skill and expertise after his death.

Virginia (more often called "Jennie"), had grown up and married David McComb, who now assumed much of the farm's management. Three children were born of this union. Then the Civil War interrupted their happy life when David was killed while serving in the Confederate Army. A young widow, Virginia, was now left the responsibility of raising three children, caring for her elderly mother and managing the family farm. She quickly emerged from a protected and sheltered life and was forced to meet the difficulties of the long war years ahead.



After the war her eldest son, William A. McComb, had taken over the farm's management. He later recalled many incidents that were part of his youthful memories of the war years and of the harsh and severe experiences suffered by his family and neighbors.

It was a picture he never forgot — the day several Northern officers rode up to the door and asked his mother if she had any cattle on the place. She was forced to answer, "Yes." They could see her one remaining milk cow down by the barn. She begged them desperately not to take it, it was the only milk she had for her young children, she told them. But the officer refused. The cow was driven out the lane to the road, the children in tears at the loss of their pet. Mrs. McComb felt certain the cow would be butchered that evening. The next day it returned on its own!

Young William McComb had fallen in love with Emma Bowman, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bowman, who lived on neighboring "Sugar Loaf Farm." He paid court to her in the etiquette of that day. No telephone was there to speed the question for a date. It was a little colored boy who was sent hurrying across the fields with a note — and told to wait for an answer to the important question.

William and Emma were married August 15, 1893 and took the C. and O.'s "Flying Dutchman" to visit the Chicago World's Fair on their honeymoon.

They made their home at "Arbor Hill," where their only daughter Mary Virginia was born and raised. It has continued to be the home of the daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. G. Dayton Hodges. In turn their daughter, Mary Hodges, married Joseph Shomo, who reside in an adjacent home on the estate. Mr. Hodges is a well-known stock raiser, specializing in the registered black Angus breed of cattle.

INVENTORY OF AUGUSTA HISTORICAL BULLETINS

- Volume 1: Spring, 1965, 5
Fall, 1965, 4
- Volume 2: Spring, 1966, sold out
Fall, 1966, 2
- Volume 3: Spring, 1967, sold out
Fall, 1967, sold out
- Volume 4: Spring, 1968, sold out
Fall, 1968, 1
- Volume 5: Spring, 1969, 11
Fall, 1969, sold out
- Volume 6: Spring, 1970, 7
Fall, 1970, sold out (The Loyal Company list in
this issue has been reprinted and is available)
- Volume 7: Spring, 1971, 9
Fall, 1971, sold out
- Volume 8: Spring, 1972, 12
Fall, 1972, 44
- Volume 9: Spring, 1973, sold out
Fall, 1973, 54
- Volume 10: Spring, 1974, sold out
Fall, 1974, 33
- Volume 11: Spring, 1975, sold out
Fall, 1975, 28
- Volume 12: Spring, 1976, 28

All copies available sell for \$3 a copy. This price applies to the
reprint of the Loyal Company list also.

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